1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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The most interesting of the Andamanese domestic utensils is undoubtedly the cooking-pot. Pots are made in all parts of the Andamans where suitable clay is to be found. The clay is obtained and is freed as far as possible from stones and gritty matter with the hands. It is then moistened with water and kneaded on a board consisting of a portion of a broken canoe. It is worked very stiff and after kneading is rolled beneath the palm of the hand into long thin rolls. These are built up into a pot by coiling, the requisite degree of thickness being obtained by pressure of the thumb and first finger. When the pot has been built up to the required size and shape, the surface, inside and out, is moistened and is scraped over in all directions with an *Arca* shell. The pot is dried in the sun for a few hours and is then baked by placing inside and around it pieces of burning wood. The pot often cracks in the baking, and another has to be made.

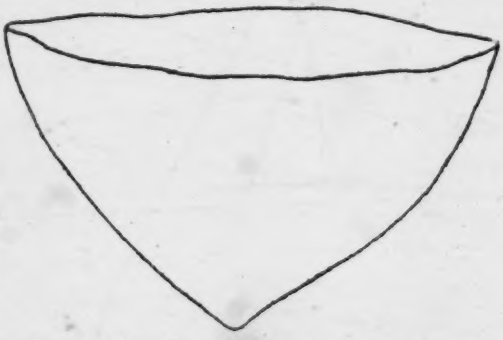

Fig. 38. Shape of North Andaman pot; actual diameter 17 cm.

In the North Andaman the pots are made with pointed bottoms, and are generally small, the largest having a capacity of only six or seven pints. They are made by women only. In the South Andaman the pots have rounded bottoms and, on the average, are larger and thicker than those of the North Andaman. They are made by both men and women, the best being made by men. In the Little Andaman the pots are larger, and, particularly, deeper than those of the South Andaman, and have somewhat pointed bottoms. The pots of the Jarawa are similar to those of the Little Andaman.

In the North Andaman pots are not ornamented, but in the South Andaman they are decorated with usually simple patterns of dots and lines made with a small pointed stick. The Little Andaman pots that I have seen were not decorated.

[531]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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415 The pots are used for cooking, i.e. for boiling meat and vegetables. In the North Andaman small pots are specially made for melting the composition used for covering the binding on the heads of arrows.

415 171 Neither the Semang nor the Philippine Negritos make any kind of pottery. The origin of Andamanese pottery therefore is a problem of some interest. It is almost certain that the early Andamanese were acquainted with pottery before they were divided into the Great Andaman and Little Andaman Divisions. One of the very few words which is the same in all Andamanese languages is the word for pot, *buču* in the Little Andaman, *buǰ* in Aka-Bea and *peč* in Aka-Jeru. The most reasonable hypothesis would therefore seem to be that the Andamanese learnt the method of making pottery by coiling before they reached the Andaman Islands but after they had become separated

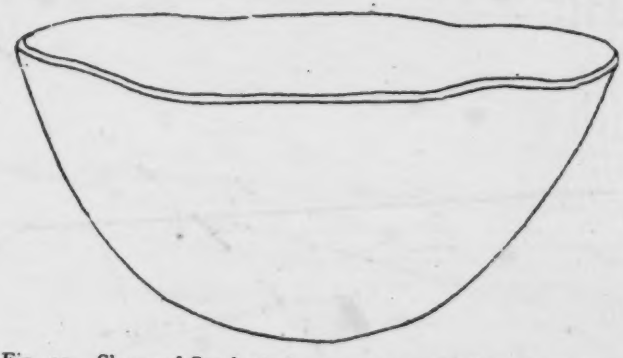

Fig. 39. Shape of South Andaman pot; actual diameter 24 cm.

from that part of the Negrito race from which the Semang and the Philippine Negritos are descended. Of course it is possible that the art of pottery may have been an original possession of the Negritos and that the Semang and Philippine Negritos may have lost it. A people could easily lose the art if they were compelled in the course of their migrations to spend three or four generations in a region that lacked clay suitable for the purpose.

415 [322] The Andamanese make buckets of wood, which they use for carrying and holding a supply of water. A solid piece is cut from the trunk of a soft-wooded tree and is hollowed out with a chisel made by attaching the blade of an adze to a stick. The natural form of the wood is retained, only the bark being removed from the outside while the inside is chiselled out to leave sides of about a centimetre thick and a bottom of somewhat greater thickness. In order to render the bottom

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

of the bucket water-tight the natives of the Little Andaman pour over it on the inside melted bees'-wax. The natives of the Great Andaman use for this purpose the same composition with which they cover the bindings of their arrows, which certainly is superior to bees'-wax.

A bucket of the shape used in the Great Andaman is shown in Plate VII, on the left. A strip of cane is attached round the middle of the bucket, and to this in turn is attached another strip of cane which, being passed across the front of the chest, enables the bucket to be carried on the back.

The buckets of the Little Andaman are cut with thinner sides than those of the Great Andaman. A strip of cane is fastened round the bucket near the top. From this two other strips of cane are attached by both ends, passing under the bottom, and a third strip is attached which passes over the head and supports the bucket when it is carried on the back. In the Little Andaman the outside of the bucket is charred with fire.

Occasionally pieces of the giant bamboo, which does not grow in the Andamans, are found on the shore, having drifted from the Burma coast. When a sound piece is found it is made into buckets each formed of a single joint.

Water vessels are made from bamboos that do grow in the islands. A length of bamboo of good diameter is cut, containing three joints. The partition of the lowest node is preserved to serve as a bottom, and the other partitions are broken through with an arrow. This is the usual vessel used for carrying water on a journey by land or in a canoe, and for keeping a supply of drinking water in the hut.

A single joint of the same kind of bamboo is used as a cooking vessel. It is cleaned, washed, and dried, and is then filled with meat tightly packed. The top is closed with leaves and the bamboo is placed on the fire until the meat is cooked. Meat is not cooked in this way for immediate consumption. It will keep for twenty-four hours or even longer if not opened. To obtain the contents the bamboo is split open with an adze.

Trays used for food are cut from soft wood of a species of *Sterculia* with an adze. They are shallow and somewhat long and narrow, with pointed ends.

A large *Pinna* shell is occasionally used as a tray or dish for holding food, or for mixing clay with water for painting. A *Nautilus* shell forms a fairly convenient cup or drinking vessel and is frequently used for that purpose, as well as for baling out water from a canoe.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

261 cannot apparently abstain from food without inconvenience for more than eight hours at a time.

271 3. When exerting themselves in any way they perspire freely, which may account for their inordinate thirst. So great, indeed, [345] is their inability to endure any privation in respect to drink, that they seldom leave home on the shortest expedition, whether by land or sea, without providing themselves with one or more bamboo vessels, called *gōb-*, containing a supply of fresh water.

513 4. Loss of sleep they can bear well only when under the influence of strong excitement, as in turtle hunting, or at festive gatherings, where singing and dancing are kept up for many successive hours;[1] they have even been known to spend forty-eight hours at such times without taking any rest.

151 5. What little cool weather there is in the latitude of their islands, during December and January, they dislike extremely; in striking evidence of this they are found, as I will elsewhere mention,[2] unconsciously concurring with the great Italian poet in depicting the region of punishment, for the souls of the wicked, as one of intense cold. After this, it will appear somewhat strange to say that, in spite of their aversion to what they consider cold weather—which never registers less than 69° F. on the highest elevation in South Andaman—they are careful, during the hot season, to avoid any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and endeavour to lessen the discomfort caused by the heat by smearing their persons with a white-wash of common white clay and water.[3] It has long been erroneously believed that they have recourse to this expedient in order to allay the inconvenience which they would otherwise suffer from the bites of mosquitoes and other jungle pests; but the true reason for the practice is, I am well assured, that which I have above given, for the various insects which might annoy them are, for the most part, kept away by the smoke of the hut fire, beside which a great portion of their time is spent when at rest, or when engaged in any sedentary occupation.

147 6. The voices of the men are usually clear without being deep, while those of the women, especially when raised, are very shrill.

142 7. The mucous membrane of the mouth is stained with pigment to a greater degree than was found to be the case with such of the natives of India as were compared with them.

8. The general excellence of the teeth strikes one as remark-

[1] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 32.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

[3] I would here draw attention to the fact, that while the object in smearing themselves with *ōg-* wash is to keep themselves as cool as possible, they often daub their bodies with *kòi'ob-* after sundown for the opposite reason, *i.e.*, for the sake of warmth.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

323 shell also impart a more finished appearance to the vessel ere it is further engraved (*ō·inga-*) on both surfaces[1] in wavy, checked, or striped designs,[2] not, as has been assumed,[3] by the finger-nail, but by means of the pointed stick before mentioned. The potter then places the utensil in the sun to dry, or, if the weather be wet or cloudy, before a fire, taking care to alter its position from time to time so that all parts may be equally subjected to heat. When sufficiently hardened, he bakes it thoroughly by placing burning pieces of wood both inside and around the vessel; occasionally during this process the pot cracks, which of course renders it useless, but if this does not happen it is allowed to cool, and is then considered ready for use.

323 415 7. With good management a pot is ordinarily fit for use by the close of the day on which it is made. They may be said to be all of one quality and to differ only in size so as to be suitable for the use of a single family or a large party. The largest description is usually only to be seen in permanent encampments, the smaller kinds being taken when occasion arises for a migration, as for instance on account of a death,[4] or because arrangements have been made for an entertainment at some other place.[5] The medium size is almost invariably provided with a rough basket-work casing, which not only renders it more portable but also serves to protect it, in some measure, from the many accidents to which it is liable.

285 8. The pots ordinarily made will hold about nine pints, but the larger kinds possess double this capacity, while others again are no larger than half an ordinary cocoanut-shell; these last are employed in making *kā·ngatā-būj-*, and also when using it;[6] with this exception none of the vessels are reserved or manufactured for any special purpose, but serve alike for all times, whether for festivals, migrations, or ordinary occasions. No substitutes for

[1] Perhaps the original object of this practice may be explained by the conjecture contained in the following extract from Peschel's work:—"In examining the site of an old pottery manufactory of the Red Indians on the Cahokia, ... Carl Rau discovered half-finished vessels, that is to say, baskets of rushes or willow, lined inside with clay. When the vessel was baked the fire naturally consumed the external covering. . . . That the Europeans of prehistoric times also originally lined basket-work with clay, may be inferred from the decorations of vessels of the stone age. These decorations consist merely of rows of marks made with the finger-nail, as if to represent the traces left by the basket-work. When some bold individual began to shape the clay by hand, his earthen vessels were perhaps regarded as not genuine, or of inferior quality, as they had not originated in the time-honoured fashion; in order to meet these doubts he may have counterfeited the impressions of the rushes with his nail."

[2] *Vide* Plate V, for illustration of these.

[3] *Vide* de Roepstorff.

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.
Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

[5] *Vide* Appendix B, item 62.

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pottery are in use, as has been supposed,[1] unless the fact of certain molluscs[2] being cooked in their shells can be so described. Broken pottery is not buried in graves or beneath landmarks, but is cast aside as rubbish.

9. No kind of painting or varnishing is ever attempted, and models of men or animals are never made. They are also ignorant of glazing and of making porous pottery for cooling vessels.

412

Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures.—1. The natural forms of stones are employed by the Andamanese, as by other savage tribes, as anvils and hammers. Like the natives of New Guinea,[3] they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells (*ūta-*), as these serve them in a great variety of ways: for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows; in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane[4] knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it for use as a plane; as a *spoon*,[5] in eating gravy, &c.; as a *knife*, in cutting thatching leaves, &c., and in severing the joints of meat; and as a *scraper* in separating the pulp from the fibre of the *Anodendron paniculatum* and other plants, from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord; these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, &c.,[6] in preparing the peculiar *ūj-*[7] appendage (worn when dancing); and they are also frequently used for planing purposes.[8] Indeed, I think I may fairly say that among their savage arts there is probably nothing so calculated to surprise and interest a stranger as the many and clever uses to which necessity has taught them to put this simple but highly effective tool.

[1] This refers to the following passage in the late Dr. Stoliczka's "Note on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands":—"I have been informed that in some parts of the island their only cooking utensils are large specimens of *Turbo marmoratus*, valves of *Tridacna gigas*, and others."

[2] Viz.:—*Cyrena*, *Arca*, *Mytilus smaragdinus*, *Ceritheum*, *Patella variabilis* (limpet), and a few other small varieties.

[3] "They always carry with them a bamboo knife; . . . when required they sharpen the edge with a shell (a fresh water species of *Cyrena*), which is always carried for the purpose. . . ." (See a paper on the natives of the Fly River, New Guinea, by Signor L. M. d'Albertis, in the Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215, 1876).

[4] Like the Tahitians and Fijians of former times they have also been in the habit of using bamboo knives; these are made of the outside of a piece of bamboo, are shaped into form while green, and are then dried and charred so as to render them as hard and sharp as possible.

[5] "The mussel-shell suggested the first idea of the spoon, and still performs its functions on the Atlantic shores of Morocco" (Peschel).

[6] *Vide* "Ornamentation," paragraph 2.

[7] *Vide* Appendix B, item 76.

[8] It has already been mentioned under "Food" (paragraph 8) that the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves.

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Plate C.

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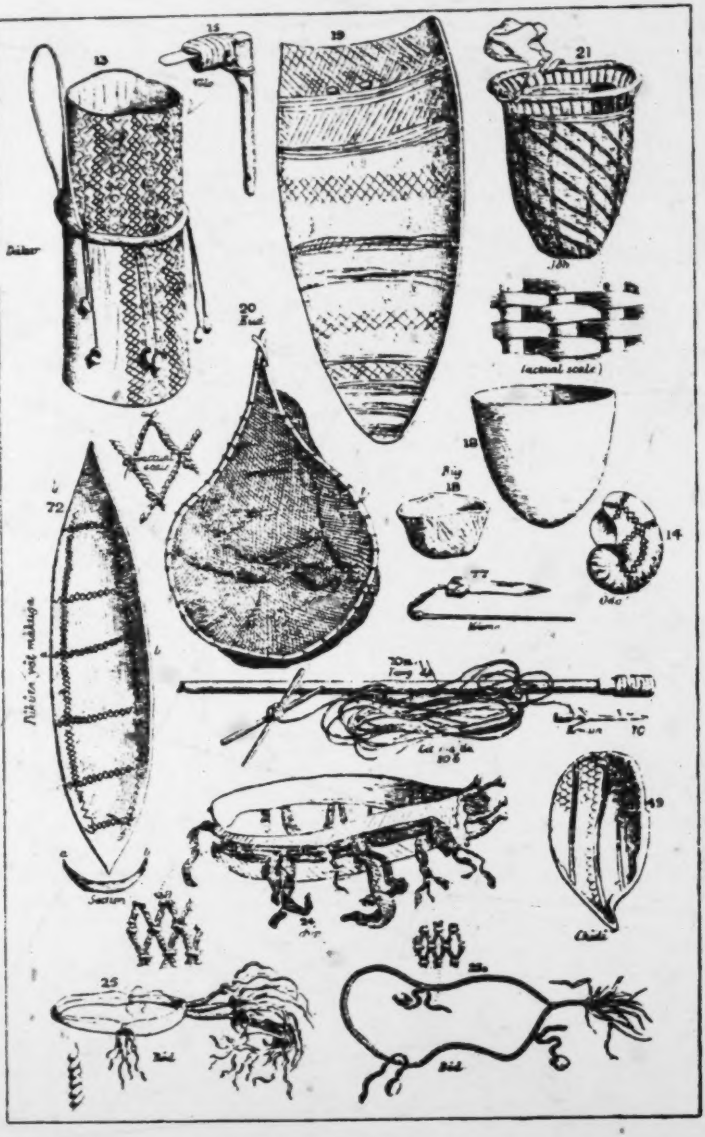

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2;Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

411 bamboo (male species preferred), often 18 feet or more in length; for the reception of the harpoon a socket is prepared at the small end, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly tied. The harpoon consists of a strong barbed iron head fastened to a short piece of wood to which a long line (*bē·tma-*) is attached. When a turtle or large fish is struck the harpoon detaches itself from the shaft, which floats and is picked up after the capture has been effected.

[NOTE.—A harpooner almost invariably follows up a successful cast by plunging into the water, lest in the act of dragging the line the harpoon should slip out of the wound and his victim should thus escape.]

501 11. *rō·ko-*.[1] Generic name of the various kinds of canoes made in recent years[2] by the aborigines of South Andaman and adjacent parts, where, owing to the facility of obtaining iron tools, large dug-outs, called *gī·lyanga-*, capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons, are constructed in place of the small outrigger canoes (*chă·rigma-*) with which the other tribes have still to content themselves. They are usually made of the *Sterculia villosa* (Andam., *bâja-*), and are often ornamentally painted.

[NOTE.—The outrigger is called *tel-*, and is always made of the wood of *maĭ-* (one of the *Sterculiaceæ*), which is soft and light.]

11*a*. *wāl·igma-*.[3] Paddle: these are not made by women, nor are they of any prescribed size, this being regulated merely by the fancy of the maker, and the material at his disposal; they are frequently adorned by women with chevrons[4] (*jō·bo-tărtă·nga-*) of *kòi·ob-* (item 60) or *tă·la-ōg-* (item 58).

286 12. *yôto-tē·pinga-*. Turtle-net, made by men,[5] of a stout cord [584] (*bē·tma-*), which is prepared from the bark fibre of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*); the meshes vary in size according to the fancy or skill of the maker.[6]

●415 13. *dă·kar-*.[7] Bucket made by the Great Andaman tribes of the wood used in constructing canoes, *i.e.*, *Sterculia villosa*, with 322 a loop of cane to form the handle; the implement used in hollowing out these vessels is the blade of the adze (*wō·lo-*, item 15), which is detached from its handle and fastened to a straight piece of wood so as to form a sort of chisel

[NOTE.—The Little Andaman and other *jār·awa-* buckets are made in the same manner, but are much larger and superior in every way; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented round the sides with strips of cane, evenly laid on and fastened at the rim by plaiting.]

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII. fig. 69.
[2] *Vide* Part III, "Navigation," paragraph 4, and footnote.
[3] *Vide* Plate VI, fig. 70
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Ornamentation," paragraph 6.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 60.
[6] *Vide* Part III, "String," paragraph 6.
[7] *Vide* Plate VII. fig. 14.

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14. *ó·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

16. *lâ·kà-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tóg-ngâ·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only;[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·mata-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·rewa-* and *jār·awa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

19. *pū·kuta-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *châ·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tâ·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

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373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 [462] 72. *pū·kuta-yât-māk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 [462] 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encampment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 [462] 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lancæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*. 78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

2:Man G-5 (1879-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ō·bunga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gōb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

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for such a fairly long period, it was decided to give up the idea of continuing our survey of the Little Andaman that year.

At the suggestion of Mr Majid it was finally decided instead to pay a visit to the surviving members of the Friendly Andamanese tribes at Neil and Havelock Islands where they had now been transferred and settled. Unfortunately, as it was March and the closing month of the financial year, I had to return to my headquarters at Banaras and leave Mr Sarkar in charge of the party to carry on further surveys in the North and Middle Andamans as far as this was found possible.

Accordingly Mr Sarkar with his party left Port Blair on 6-3-48 on the Forest Motor Launch "Lindsay" and arrived at Long Island at about 8 A.M. on the following day. Mr Sarkar was met by Mr Joseph, T. S. D. O. who brought "Loka" and his party of four Andamanese. They were studied by him. The party left Long Island on the Forest Launch "Kokhari" at about 7-30 A.M. on the following day. Mr Joseph accompanied the party, who halted at the Guitar Island where some of Loka's associates were hunting turtles with harpoons. After leaving Guitar Island, the launch passed through Homfray Strait. Mr Joseph showed the spot where the Jarawas in 1925 attacked his camp. This is near the place from where the Jarawas usually crossed from the Baratang Island to the Middle Andamans. Proceeding further westwards, Mr Sarkar and his party reached the north-east end of the Spike Island. This is another route of migration of the Jarawas from the South to North Andamans. Usually they come from the South Andaman and cross over to Bluff Island and then reach the Spike Island opposite to it. Loka gave the information that it was about this place that several Jarawas were shot sometime back and their bodies were buried in the Bluff Island. The party went along the coast of Neil Island and anchored off Foul Bay. Human footprints identified by Mr Joseph and Loka as belonging to the Jarawas were found in the sand. Following the footprints the party found the remnants of burnt ashes and cinder in a spot in the jungle. There were also vessels made of leaves for carrying water which were still wet. These were collected as specimens of Jarawa objects for the Department's collections. No traces of Jarawas themselves could however be found who must have moved into the jungles just prior to our party's visit. Our men then crossed over to Bluff Island and searched for the Jarawa skeletons, but none were found. On the 9th of March the "Kokhari" returned to Long Island, where it anchored. Loka brought his party of 21 individuals who were now settled in Neil Island. These people were carefully studied by Mr Sarkar and notes taken regarding their geneology, family structure and physical state, etc. On the 9th the Deputy Chief Commissioner, Mr S. C. Gupta with his wife arrived at Long Island. Mr Sarkar and his party accompanied him to Stewart Sound in his boat "Elsa". Unfortunately the few Andamanese who were living there happened to have gone out in their canoes for fishing and could not be contacted (*see* Plate I, Fig. 5).

They then went with Mr Gupta to the Karen village called *Webi* situated at a short distance from Stewart Sound. There were no Andamanese there,

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[136] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
[415] A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
231 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[47] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[231] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.

[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate I

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghē* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 489 (A)]

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

Another item of material culture found during the above expedition was a few unbaked pots which show that the Jarawa manufacture earthenware articles – an art not reported so far from among the Onge. Coiled pottery was known among the Andamanese (MAN, 1932). It can be found in the Andamanese kitchen middens as well.

The present writer had the opportunity of being twice after the trail of the South Andaman Jarawa in the year 1948. During these two tours a large number of ethnographic objects of the Jarawa was collected. They are now deposited at the office of the Anthropological Survey of India [1], Indian Museum, Calcutta.

It was known that the Jarawa were using Bluff and Spike Islands as temporary halting stations in their to-and-fro migrations from South Andaman to Middle Andaman. In September 1938, a pregnant Jarawa woman and four young children (SARKAR, 1952) were captured while they were crossing on a raft on the coast off Bluff Island. A few of their haunts were known to the then officers of the local forest department.

In 1948 while the present writer was camping at Long Island, studying the Andamanese, two such opportunities of visiting the Jarawa areas arose. The presence of the Jarawa north of Port Anson was reported to us. We left for Port Anson in a motor launch on March 7th 1948, in the company of an Andamanese – whose canoe was tied behind our launch – under the leadership, of Mr. Joseph, the then Sub-divisional Officer of the forest department. We had one gun only and a *dao* (billhook) each.

We passed through Homfray Strait and, reaching Port Anson, we went along the western coast of Middle Andaman. We then anchored our vessel off Foul Bay and came ashore in the Andamanese canoe. This flat open coast is known to be a good place for deer hunting and the animals could be seen from the sea. When the deer were not seen from the canoe we presumed that some human beings had been there shortly before; we suspected them to be Jarawa. Soon we discovered on the beach small footprints, which both Mr. JOSEPH and the Andamanese recognized as Jarawa ones. We traced them inside the jungle and came across a small fire which was still smouldering. A few yards away we found two bags for carrying water made of leaves (fig. 2) which were still wet. The few drops therein tasted sweet. We walked about for some time since the footprints could no longer be traced. There seemed to have been only two people. We then came to Bluff Island along the east coast of Spike Island but found nothing of the Jarawa.

Fig. 2

[1] Thanks are due to its Director, Professor NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE for his kindness in helping the writer with the illustrations of this paper.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

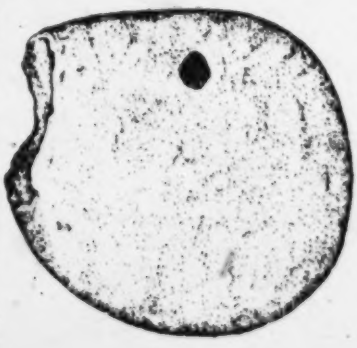

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1968 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

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18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

These crabs are enormous, weighing one and a half kilograms, and are very tasty. Like many land crabs they have one large claw and a smaller one, the difference being quite marked in the males, though hardly noticeable in females. Some appear left-handed, some right-handed; I confirmed this by looking at thousands of them with the help of my Indians, and sent some to the Institute of Zoology at the University of Genoa for further examination.

On the inside of the large claw, to hold the prey while the crab bites, are protuberances that look like teeth. They have a very similar function and are a good example of superficial similarity in different types of organs designed for a similar purpose.

The females, like those of other crabs, carry the mass of round, almost transparent, orange-coloured eggs under the abdomen, attached to her swimmerets and well protected. In the great crabs from which the Onges make their pipes the bluish-green shell is reflected on to the eggs, giving them a beautiful sheen. Immediately the young are hatched, they cling underneath the mother's abdomen like the eggs, so that if a female is caught one can be sure of having the whole brood. Even at this stage the sex and the disparity of the claws is discernible as the young are exact replicas of the adults. Two curious things about them are that the number of the two sexes in any brood are exactly equal, and that in the males there are equal numbers right- and left-handed. The point is an interesting one, and I hope geneticists will be able to investigate it further.

Another important feature in Onge life is the *Nautilus*, the cephalopod whose shells provide the only drinking vessels they know. *Nautilus* shells, unlike those of gastropods, are spiral in one plane, with interlocular septa. The mollusc occupies the last, or largest, of the whorls, which communicates with the rest of the spiral by a cylindrical syphuncle running through the mid-line of the shell. This is connected to the creature's viscera by a vascular tube, which for hydrostatic purposes regulates the amount of air and water in the chambers. Each chamber is concave on the side nearest the aperture, and the distance between the septa increases with the size of the whorls, to a fixed maximum, limited by their number, which is constant in adults. *Nautilus*, a living fossil from the time of the ammonites, is the last survivor of a genus dating from the Silurian period; long ago there were many species, although only four have

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

islanders, in the absence of any means of working it, have not fully realized.

3 IGNORANCE OF FIRE

The islanders' present ignorance of fire-making may possibly be the result of cultural decline, but this is not certain. In the presence of the considerable additional evidence in favour of the antiquity of the Andamanese culture it is, however, more likely that it is genuine ignorance, persisting in a pre-lithic people.

4 ABSENCE OF SALT

Although there can be no proof, it can be reasonably postulated that very primitive Man had no salt, and that in the Andamans this ignorance has persisted over thousands of years, owing to strict isolation. It is unlikely that the use of salt would have been completely lost, had it ever been introduced.

5 PRIMITIVE METHODS OF COOKING

Apart from the accidental and very recent introduction of petrol-drum cooking, the Andamanese use only the most primitive form of earth oven. This method of cooking was certainly known in the Palaeolithic era; at the entrance to the well-known Barma Grande cave near Mentone I have myself seen in the basal layers a number of stones bearing the marks of fire, too numerous merely to have formed some sort of hearth, and clearly not used to support cooking-pots, as Palaeolithic Man had none which would have withstood heat. The form of earth oven still used throughout the Andamans is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity.

6 FOOD VESSELS

The people of the Andamans still use for honey hollowed-out logs similar to those seen in Palaeolithic wall paintings, which also depict baskets very like those still in use throughout the archipelago. The art of basket-making can be traced back at least to the later Palaeolithic era.

7 USE OF POTTERY

As with the other Negrito peoples, pottery was unknown in the earliest culture of the Andamans. Its appearance seems from the evidence of the